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states, for the first time in history, showed what extraordinary power they are capable of wielding when acting together. They maintained there, with great intelligence and practical wisdom, their position as political equals in the family of nations. They successively resisted every attempt to secure the adoption of any measure in a form which would have reduced them ever afterwards to perpetual vassalage to the great powers. They likewise voted solidly and, for the most part, enthusiastically for all the most advanced measures presented — a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, a permanent international court of arbitral justice, periodic meetings of the Hague Conference, the immunity of private property from capture at sea in time of war, etc.

These powers, therefore, hold at the present moment a position of vantage from which they might well undertake, with hope of success, to inaugurate a movement to induce the great military and naval states to cease their rivalry and to enter into some arrangement which would put an end to the present insane and perilous situation. It would be a very difficult thing for Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, Japan and the United States to resist the moral force of such a direct appeal. Five, and possibly six, of these powers would certainly welcome with great satisfaction such a move, which no one of them so far feels itself in a position to initiate on its own motion. The other two could not long hold out against such an appeal. There is scarcely a doubt that a large majority of the populations of all the great nations would at once support, with all their weight, an appeal so reasonable and so opportune.

Is there then not an opening in this direction to bring about the accomplishment of what is confessedly a most delicate and difficult problem, whose solution is nevertheless growing more and more imperative every day? We commend the subject to the immediate and most serious consideration of the statesmen of the secondary powers. If Sweden, for instance, with the coöperation of the other two Scandinavian countries, Denmark and Norway, would lead the way,—and none are better situated than these to take the lead,—is it not practically certain that The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and the other smaller European states, with the whole body of the South and Central American Republics, would hasten to associate themselves with a movement promising such incalculable benefits to themselves and to the whole world?

If the great nations should listen favorably to the appeal, as we have little doubt they would, and a conference be called in this manner for the serious consideration of the problem, there is no doubt that a formula of limitation of armaments and subsequent reduction would be found not so difficult a thing as many persons have imagined. Let the will once be shown, and the way out will easily be found.

### William I. Buchanan.

The sudden death of Hon. William I. Buchanan in London on the 16th of last month has taken away a public man whom the world could ill afford to lose at the present important epoch in international affairs. Mr. Buchanan, by many years of practical and successful experience, had won for himself a position in diplomacy of the new order not surpassed perhaps by that of any other man of our time. It is true that the field of his diplomatic service was for the most part in the western hemisphere; but in this he was supreme. Several years of residence in South America as Minister to the Argentine Republic, whither he was sent in 1894, brought him a thorough knowledge of the Latin-American people, and his fair and sympathetic treatment of them made him everywhere respected and beloved by them.

When Panama revolted from Colombia Mr. Buchanan was the first envoy of the United States to the new republic, and he was freely consulted about the making of the constitution of the new state.

As chairman of the United States delegations to both the second and the third Pan-American Conferences, at Mexico City and at Rio Janeiro, he did invaluable service in maintaining and fostering friendship between this country and the republics south of us. At the critical period of the Mexico City Conference, when it looked as if the meeting would break up in confusion without accomplishing anything, it was Mr. Buchanan's personal influence, more than any other one thing, that kept the South American delegates from leaving and wrecking the meeting. We have been told by one who was there and knew, that Mr. Buchanan at this critical juncture walked the floor of his room at night trying to think out some way of preventing the wreck of the conference. He was finally successful and saved the day, and the Conference proved most fruitful in results.

Mr. Buchanan held a very noble theory of international conduct, which, if generally followed, would prevent nearly all the misunderstandings and conflicts which arise between nations. At the Mohonk Arbitration Conference last May, in an address on "The Importance of Conservative Work for Arbitration," he expressed the belief that one of the greatest forces for international good understanding and peace "lies in the effort each of us can exert with ourselves toward neutralizing our national pride and sensitiveness by the avoidance of intemperate speech in moments of international danger where our interests are in some way involved." Speaking of the importance of proper national pride, "the great quality that moves nations," he said: "What is required is that we should cultivate along parallel lines with this great quality in all of us an attitude of fairness and calmness toward questions that arise wherein our

interests and those of other countries conflict, and a willingness to admit the possibility that all the right is not on our side of the question. This, with a readiness on our part to permit those in authority to adjust differences that arise between us and other nations free from the pressure of views that, while often sincere, are more often selfish and usually immature and sentimental, will reduce to a small number the cases that would require arbitral decision."

It was Mr. Buchanan's practical application of this fine moral conception in all the delicate negotiations with the South American Republics with which he was entrusted that made him so universally successful in his missions. The Latin-American officials with whom he dealt, and of whose language he had complete mastery, felt assured that he was not trying to get advantage of their countries, because our nation was strong and theirs weak, but was seeking always the right and just thing.

In the sphere of arbitration Mr. Buchanan had large experience and accomplished much. While Minister to Argentina he acted as umpire in the adjustment of a difficulty between that country and Chile, and brought the negotiation to a happy termination. At the second Pan-American Congress at Mexico City, in 1901-2, alluded to above, it was due largely to his wisdom and tact that so much was accomplished in the direction of arbitration conventions. That accomplishment, to use his own words, consisted of "a protocol of adherence to the Hague Conventions and their acceptance as principles of American international law; a request to the President of the Republic of Mexico to see if there was any step beyond that to which the American republics would go; and, in addition to that protocol, the signing of an agreement on the part of ten nations obligating themselves to go to that tribunal and settle their differences; and also an agreement in which nineteen nations joined to go to the same tribunal and adjust pecuniary claims." Mr. Buchanan believed that these three things would rank the Mexican Conference as the most remarkable conference held up to that time.

In securing the arbitration of the famous boundary dispute between Chile and the Argentine Republic, in commemoration of which the great statue, "the Christ of the Andes," was erected on the boundary between the two countries, Mr. Buchanan's good offices with the Argentine government and with the representatives of Chile at Buenos Ayres was one of the chief factors, though the British Ministers at the two capitals also took a leading part in bringing about the agreement.

In the spring of 1907 Mr. Buchanan was chosen by President Roosevelt one of the representatives of this country to the second Hague Conference. Though his name was not often mentioned in connection with the

great discussions in the committees of that memorable gathering, his influence in a private way was constant and strong, particularly among the representatives of the Latin-American governments.

Last winter Mr. Buchanan was sent as a special commissioner to Venezuela to reestablish diplomatic relations between that country and this, which had been broken off under President Castro. He was eminently successful in this mission. He arranged for the direct settlement of four of the claims of citizens of this country against the Venezuelan government, and secured the reference of the fifth claim to the Hague Court. He was made the agent of our government in preparing and presenting the case to the Court, and on this he was engaged at the time of his death.

Mr. Buchanan had been for several years a member and vice-president of the American Peace Society, and was a warm, sympathetic and loyal supporter of its work. He believed that the future, the near future, of the world belongs to the friends of peace, and he was not only willing, but felt in duty bound to throw in his lot and the weight of his personal influence with them. At a public meeting in the interests of arbitration and peace in Tremont Temple, Boston, in April, 1902, organized by the American Peace Society, he was the principal speaker, discussing in a most lucid and interesting way the results of the Pan-American Conference at Mexico.

So-called compulsory arbitration Mr. Buchanan had little sympathy with. To be arbitration at all it must be voluntary. He was likewise not as anxious as some of his friends to see a formal international court of justice established. He doubted if such a court could be made to work successfully, at least until all the nations could have equal representation in it. He felt that, for the present at least, the safest and most promising course to follow was to be contented with the present court of arbitration at The Hague, to improve it gradually, to extend its use as widely as possible, and to strengthen the confidence of the world in it. In this way he believed that in time the tribunal of justice which the nations must ultimately have would be worked out along the lines of least resistance, and would secure to the world an abiding peace, resting on the basis of goodwill, toleration and justice. He found in the history of the growth of law what he believed to be ample justification for this view.

### The Japanese Business Men.

Of all the international visitations made within the last few years by representatives of various classes of men, — educators, clergymen, national and city officials, members of parliament, workingmen, etc., — none has been more interesting and impressive than that of the forty